



*For certain and certain, and
how the books are
the same as the
the same as the*

Montaigne 15886: Coaches

The ESSAYES
of MICHAEL
LORD of
MONTAIGNE
TRANSLATED
BY JOHN
FLORIO
The
Third BOOKE
VOLUME 1^o

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the Third Booke

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UNDERGRADUATE

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'Male I say, that both male and female, are cast in one and same moule; instruction and custome excepted, there female, is no great difference betwene them: Plato calleth are cast them both indifferently to the society of all studies, same exercises, charges and functions of warre and moule' peace, in his Commonwealth. And the Philosopher *Anthibens* took away al distinction betwene their vertue and ours. It is much more easie to accuse the one sexe, then to excuse the other. It is that which some say proverbially, *Ill may the Kill call the Owen burnt taile.*

CHAP. VI

Of Coaches

IT is easie to verifie, that excellent authors, writing of causes do not only make use of those which they imagine true, but efisoones of such as themselves beleve not: alwayes provided they have some invention and beautie. They speake sufficiently, truly and profitably, if they speake ingeniously. We cannot assure our selves of the chiefe cause: we huddle up a many together, to see whether by chance it shall be found in that number,

Namque unam dicere causam,

Non satis est, verum plures unde una tamem sit.

—LUCRET. VI. 700.

Enough it is not one cause to devise,

But more, whereof that one may yet arise.

THE THIRD BOOKE CHAP. VI. 187

Will you demand of me, whence this custome An ex-
arise, to blesse an say God helpe to those that planation
sneeze? We produce three sortes of winde; that of sea-
issuing from belowe is too undecent; that from the sickness
mouth, implieth some reproach of gourmandise;
the third is sneezing; and because it commeth
from the head, and is without imputation, we
thus kindly entertaine it: Smile not at this sub-
tily, it is (as some say) *Aristoteles*. Me seemeth
to have read in *Plutarch* (who of all the authors
I know, hath best commixt arte with nature,
and coupled judgement with learning) where he
yeeldeth a reason, why those which travell by
sea, do sometimes feele such qualmes and risings
of the stomach, saying, that it proceedeth of a
kinde of feare: having found-out some reason,
by which he prooveth, that feare may cause such
an effect. My selfe who am much subject unto
it, know well, that this cause doth nothing con-
cerne me. And I know it, not by argument,
but by necessary experience, without alleaging
what some have tolde me, that the like doth
often happen unto beasts, namely unto swine,
when they are farthest from apprehending any
danger: and what an acquaintance of mine hath
assured me of himselfe, and who is greatly sub-
ject unto it, that twice or thrice in a tempestuous
storme, being surprised with exceeding feare, all
manner of desire or inclination to vomit had left
him. As to that ancient good fellow; *Petrus*
vexabar quàm ut periculum mihi succurreret. I
was worse vexed then that danger could helpe me.
I never apprehended feare upon the water; nor

'Even any where else (yet have I often had just cause to feare, offered me, if death it selfe may give it) which courage either might trouble or asony me. It proceedeth is re- quired' sometimes as well from want of judgement, as from lacke of courage. All the dangers I have

had, have bene when mine eyes were wide-open, and my sight cleare, sound and perfect: For, *even to feare, courage is required.* It hath sometimes steaded me, in respect of others, to direct and keepe my flight in order, that so it might be, if not without feare, at least without dismay and astonishment. Indeed it was moved, but not amazed nor distracted. Undanted mindes march further, and represent flight, not onely temperate, settled and sound, but also fierce and bold. Report we that which *Alcibiades* relateth of *Socrates* his companion in armes. I found (saith he) after the route and discomfiture of our armie, both him and *Zachez* in the last ranke of those that ranne away, and with all safety and leasure considered him, for I was mounted upon an excellent good horse, and he on foote, and so had we combated all day. I noted first, how in respect of *Zachez*: he shewed both discreet judgement and undanted resolution: then I observed the undismaide bravery of his march, nothing different from his ordinary pace: his looke orderly and constant, duly observing and heedily judging what ever passed round about him: sometimes viewing the one, and sometimes looking on the other both friends and enemies, with so composed a manner, that he seemed to encourage the one and menace the other, signifying, that whosoever should

attempt his life, must purchase the same, or his blood at a high-valued rate? and thus they both saved themselves; for, men do not willingly grapple with these; but follow such as shew or feare or dismay. Lo here the testimony of that renowned Captaine, who teacheth us what wee daily finde by experience, that there is nothing doth sooner cast us into dangers, then an inconsiderate greedinesse to avoide them. *Quo timoris minus est, eo minus ferre periculi est. The lesse feare there is most commonly, the lesse danger there is.* Our people is to blame, to say, such a one feareth death, when it would signifie, that he thinks on it, and doth foresee the same. Foresight doth equally belong as well to that which concerneth us in good, as touch us in evill. *To consider and judge danger, is in some sort, not to be danted at it.* I doe not find my selfe sufficiently strong to withstand the blow and violence of this passion of feare, or of any other impetuosity, were I once therewith vanquished and deterred, I could never safely recover my selfe. He that should make my minde forgoe her footing, could never bring her unto her place againe. She doth over lively sound, and over deeply search into her selfe: And therefore never suffers the wound which pierced the same, to be thoroughly cured and consolidated. It hath bene happy for me, that no infirmitie could ever yet displace her. I oppose and present my selfe in the best ward I have, against all charges and assaults that beset mee. Thus the first that should beare me away, would make me unre-

The less fear, the less danger

Mon-coverable. I encounter not two: which way taigne soever spoile should enter my hold, there am I fond of open, and remedlesly drowned. *Epicurus* saith, horse that a wise man can never passe from one state to its contrary. I have some opinion answering his sentence, that *he vobis habet once bene a very foole, shall at no time proove verie wise.* God sends my cold answerable to my cloths, and passions answering the meanes I have to indure them. Nature having discovered mee on one side, hath covered mee on the other. Having disarmed me of strength, she hath armed me with insensibility, and a regular or soft apprehension. I cannot long endure (and lesse could in my youth) to ride either in coach or litter, or to go in a boat; and both in the Citty and country I hate all manner of riding, but a horse-back: And can lesse endure a litter, then a coach, and by the same reason, more easily a rough agitation upon the water, whence commonly proceedeth feare, then the soft stirring a man shall feele in calme weather. By the same easie gentle motion, which the cares give, conveying the boat under us, I wot not how, I feele both my head intoxicated and my stomacke distempered: as I cannot likewise abide a shaking stoole under me. When as either the saile, or the gliding course of the water doth equally carry us away, or that we are but towed, that gently gliding and even agitation, doth no whit distemper or hurt me. It is an interrupted and broken motion, that offends mee; and more when it is languishing. I am not able to display its forme. Phisitions

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have taught mee to bind and gird my selfe with Of a napkin or swath round about the lower part of my belly, as a remedy for this accident; which as yet I have not tride, being accustomed to wrestle and withstand such defects as are in mee; and tame them by my selfe. Were my memory sufficiently informed of them, I would not thinke my time lost, heere to set down the infinite variety, which histories present unto us, of the use of coaches in the service of warre: divers according to the nations, and different according to the ages: to my seeming of great effect and necessity. So that it is wondrously strange, how we have lost all true knowledge of them; I will onely aleadge this, that even lately in our fathers time, the Hungarians did very availefully bring them into fashion, and profitably set them a work against the Turks; every one of them containing a Targatier and a Musketter, with a certaine number of harquebuses or calivers, ready charged; and so ranged, that they might make good use of them; and all over covered with a pavesado, after the manner of a Galliotte. They made the front of their battaile with three thousand such coaches: and after the Cannon had playd, caused them to discharge and shoote off a volie of small shott upon their enemies, before they should know or feele, what the rest of the forces could doe: which was no small advancement; or if not this, they mainly drove those coaches amide the thickest of their enemies squadrons, with purpose to breake, disroute and make waie through them. Besides

Chariots the benefit and helpe they might make of them, drawn by in any suspicious or dangerous place, to flanke strange creatures their troupes marching from place to place: or in hast to encompassse, to embarricado, to cover or fortifie any lodgement or quarter. In my time, a gentleman of quality, in one of our frontiers, unwealdy and so burly of body, that hee could finde no horse able to beare his waight, and having a quarrell or deadly fude in hand, was wont to travaile up and down in a coach made after this fashion, and found much ease and good in it. But leave we these warlike coaches, as if their nullity were not sufficiently knowne by better tokens; The last Kings of our first race were wont to travell in chariots drawne by foure oxen. *Mark Antonie* was the first, that caused himselfe, accompanied with a minsterell harlot to be drawne by Lyons fitted to a coach. So did *Hellogabalus* after him, naming himselfe *Cibele* the mother of the Gods; and also by Tigers, counterfeiting God *Bacchus*: who sometimes would also bee drawne in a coach by two Stages: and an-other time by foure massive Dogs: and by foure naked wenches, causing himselfe to bee drawne by them in pompe and state, hee being all naked. The emperor *Firmus*, made his coach to bee drawne by Estriges of exceeding greatnesse, so that hee rather seemed to flye, then to roule on wheeles. The strangenesse of these inventions, doth bring this other thing unto my fantasie. That it is a kinde of puslanimity in Monarkes, and a testimony that they doe not sufficiently

know what they are, when they labour to shew their worth, and endeavour to appeare unto the world, by excessive and intolerable expences. A thing, which in a strange country might somewhat bee excused; but amongst his native subjects, where hee swayeth all in all, hee draweth from his dignity the extreamest degree of honour, that hee may possible attaine unto. As for a gentleman, in his owne private house to apparel himselfe richly and curiously, I deme it a matter vaine and superfluous; his house, his houshold, his traine and his kitchen doe sufficiently answer for him. The counsell which *Isocrates* giveth to his King (in my conceite) seemeth to carry some reason: when hee willett him to bee richly-stored and stately adorned with mooveables and household-stuffe, forsoomuch as it is an expence of continuance, and which descendeth even to his posterity or heires: And to avoyde all magnificences, which presently vanish both from custome and memory. I loved when I was a yonger brother to set myselfe foorth and bee gaye in clothes, though I wanted other necessaries; and it became mee well: There are some on whose backs their rich Robes weepe, or as wee say their rich clothes are lyned with heavy debts. We have divers strange tales of our aunccient Kings frugalitie about their owne persons, and in their gifts: great and farre renowned Kings both in credit, in valour and in fortune. *Demosthenes* mainly combats the law of his Citie, who assigned their publique money to be employed

Exces-
sive ex-
pences of
Kings

Worthy about the stately setting forth of their playes employ- and feasts: He willeth that their magnificence ment of should bee seene in the quantity of tall ships wealth well manned and appointed, and armies well furnished. And they have reason to accuse

Theophrastus, who in his booke of riches established a contrarie opinion, and upholdeth such a quality of expences, to be the true fruit of wealth and plenty. They are pleasures (saith *Aristotle*) that onely touch the vulgar and basest communnalty, which as soone as a man is satisfied with them, vanish out of minde; and whereof no man of sound judgement or gravity can make any esteeme. The employment of it, as more profitable, just and durable would seeme more royall, worthy and commendable, about ports, havens, fortifications and walles; in sumptuous buildings, in churches, hospitals, colleges, mending of heighwayes and streetes, and such like monuments: in which things *Pope Gregory* the thirteenth shall leave aye-lasting and commendable memory unto his name: and wherein our *Queene Catharin* should winnes unto succeeding ages her naturall liberality and exceeding bounty, if her meanes were answerable to her affection. Fortune hath much sighted mee to hinder the structure and breake-off the finishing of our new-bridge in our great City; and before my death to deprive mee of all hope to see the great necessity of it set forward againe. Moreover, it appeareth unto subjects, spectators of these triumphs, that they have a show made them of their owne riches, and that they are feasted

at their proper charges: For, the people doe easily presume of their kings, as wee doe of our servants; that they should take care plentifully to provide us of whatsoever wee stand in neede of, but that on their behalfe they should no way lay hands on it. And therefore the Emperor *Galba*, sitting at supper, having taken pleasure to heare a musician play and sing before him, sent for his casket, out of which he tooke a handful of Crowns and put them into his hand, with these wordes, *Take this, not as a gift of the publique money, but of mine owne private store.*

So is it, that it often commeth to passe, that the common people have reason to grudge, and that their eyes are fedde, with that which should feede their belly. Liberality it selfe, in a soveraigne hand is not in her owne luster: private men have more right, and may challenge more interest in her. For, taking the matter exactly as it is, a *King bath nothing that is properly his owne; hee oweth even himselfe to others. Authority is not given in favour of the authorising, but rather in favour of the authorisid. A superiour is never created for his owne profit, but rather for the benefit of the inferiour: And a Phisition is instituted for the sick, not for himselfe. All Magistrats, even as each arte, rejecteth her end out of her selfe. Nulla ars in se versatur. No arte is all in it selfe.* Wherefore the governours and overseers of Princes childhood or minority, who so earnestly endeavor to imprint this vertue of bounty and liberality in them; and teach them not to refuse any thing, and esteeme nothing so well

Sow with employed, as what they shall give (an instruction the hand, which in my dayes I have scene in great credit) not the either they preferre and respect more their owne sack profit than their masters; or else they understand not aright to whom they speake. It is too easie a matter to imprint liberality in him, that hath wherewith plenteously to satisfie what he desireth at other mens charges. And his estimation being directed not according to the measure of the present, but according to the quality of his meanes, that exerciseth the same, it commeth to prove vaine in so puissant hands. They are found to bee prodigall, before they be liberall. Therefore it is but of small commendation, in respect of other royall vertues. And the onely (as said the tyrant *Diomysius*) that agreed and squared well with tyrannie it selfe. I would rather teach him the verse of the ancient labourer,

τῆ χειρὶ δέῃ σπείσῃ ἀλλὰ μὴ θάψῃ τῷ θυλάκῳ.

Not whole sakes, but by the hand

A man should sow his seed i' the land.

—PLUT. *De Athen.*

—EKAS. *Chil.* iii. cent. i. ad. 32.

That whosoever will reape any commodity by it, must sow with his hand, and not powre out of the sacke: that *come must be discreetly scattered, and not lawisly dispersed*: And that being to give, or to say better, to pay and restore to such a multitude of people, according as they have deserved, he ought to be a loyall, faithfull, and advised distributor thereof. If the liberality of

a Prince be without heedie discretion and measure, Evils of I would rather have him covetous and sparing. immoderate *Princely vertue seemeth to consist most in justice.* bounty

And of all parts of justice, that doth best and most belong to Kings, which accompanieth liberality. For they have it particularly reserved to their charge; whereas all other justice, they happily exercise the same by the intermission of others. *Immoderate bounty is a weakemeane to acquire them good will*: for it rejecteth more people than it obtaineth: *Quo in plures usus, minus in multos uti possis.* *Quid autem est stultius, quam, quod libenter facias, curare ut id duntius facere non possis?* (Cic. *Off.* i.). *The more you have used it to many, the lesse may you use it to many more: And what is more fond than what you willingly would doe, to provide you can no longer doe it?* And if it be employed without respect of merit, it shameth him that receiveth the same, and is received without grace. Some Tyrants have been sacrificed to the peoples hatred, by the very hands of those, whom they had rashly preferred and wrongfully advanced: such kinde of men, meaning to assure the possession of goods unlawfully and indirectly gotten, if they shew to hold in contempt and hatred, him from whom they held them, and in that combine themselves unto the vulgar judgement and common opinion. *The subjects of a Prince, and common opinion.* *The subjects of a Prince, rashly excessive in his gifts, become impudently excessive in begging*: they adhere, not unto reason, but unto example. Verily we have often just cause to blush, for our impudency. We are

Cove- over-paid according to justice, when the recom-
pence equaleth our service: for, doe we not owe
is ever a kinde of naturall duty to our Princes? If he
ungrate- beare our charge, he doth overmuch; it sufficeth
ful if hee assist it: the over-plus is called a benefit,
which cannot be exacted; for the very name of
liberality implyeth liberty. After our fashion we
have never done; what is received is no more
reckoned of: onely future liberality is loved:

Wherefore the more a Prince doth exhaust him-
selfe in giving, the more friends he impoverisheth.
How should he satisfie intemperate desires, which
increase according as they are replenished? *Who
so hath his minde on taking, hath it no more on what
he hath taken. Covetousnesse hath nothing so proper,
as to bee ungratefull.* The example of Cyrus shal
not ill fit this place, for the behoofe of our kings
of these daies, as a touch-stone, to know whether
their gifts be wel or ill employed; and make them
perceive how much more happily that Emperour
did wound and oppresse them, than they doe.
Whereby they are afterward forced to exact and
borrow of their unknowne subjects, and rather of
such as they have wronged and aggrieved, than
of those they have enriched and done good unto:
and receive no aids, where any thing is gratitude,
except the name. *Craesus* upbraided him with
his lavish bounty, and calculated what his treasure
would amount unto, if he were more sparing and
close-handed. A desire surprised him to justifie
his liberality, and dispatching letters over all
parts of his dominions, to such great men of his
estate, whom hee had particularly advanced, in-

treated every one to assist him with as much The
money as they could, for an urgent necessitie of example
his; and presently to send it him by declara- of Cyrus
tion: when all these count-bookes or notes were

brought him, each of his friends supposing that
it sufficed not, to offer him no more than they
had received of his bounteous liberality, but
adding much of their owne unto it, it was found,
that the said summe amounted unto much more
than the niggardly sparing of *Craesus*. Where-
upon *Cyrus* said, *I am no lesse greedy of riches,
than other Princes, but I am rather a better hus-
band of them. You see with what small venture
I have purchased the unsvaluable treasure of so
many friends, and how much more faithfull trea-
surers they are to mee, than merrenary men would
be, without obligation and without affection: and
my exchequer or treasury better placed than in
pallery confers; by which I draw upon me the
hate, the envy and the contempt of other Princes.*
The ancient Emperours were wont to draw som
excuse, for the superfluity of their sports and pub-
like shewes, for so much as their authority did in
some sort depend (at least in apparence) from
the will of the Romane people; which from all
ages are accustomed to be flattered by such kinde
of spectacles and excesse.

But they were particular ones who had bred
this custome, to gratifie their con-citizens and fel-
lows: especially by their purse, by such profusion
and magnificence. It was cleane altered, when
the masters and chiefe rulers came once to imitate
the same. *Pecuniarum translatio à justis dominis*

Shows ad alienos non debet liberalis videri (Cic. Off. i.).

of the *The passing of money from right owners to strangers should not seeme liberality.* Phibp, because his

sonne indeavoured by gifts to purchase the good will of the Macedonians, by a letter seemed to be displeased, and chid him in this manner: What? *Wouldest thou have thy subjects to account thee for their purse-bearer, and not repute thee for their King? Will thou frequent and practise them? Then doe it with the benefits of thy vertue, not with those of thy cofers:* Yet was it a goodly thing to cause a great quantity of great trees, all branchie and greene, to bee far brought and planted in plots yeelding nothing but dry gravell, representing a wilde shady Forrest, divided in due seemely proportion: And the first day, to put into the same a thousand Estriges, a thousand Stagges, a thousand wilde Boares, and a thousand Buckes, yeelding them over to bee hunted and killed by the common people: the next morrow in the presence of all the assembly to cause a hundred great Lions, a hundred Leopards, and three hundred huge Beares to be baited and tugged in pieces: and for the third day, in bloody manner and good earnest to make three hundred couple of Gladiators or Fencers, to combat and murder one another; as did the Emperour *Probus*. It was also a goodly shew, to see those huge Amphitheaters all enchased with rich marble, on the outside curiously wrought with [carved] statues, and all the inner side glittering with precious and rare embellishments.

Balthus en gemmis, en illia porticus auro.

A belt beset with gemmes behold,
Behold a walke bedawb'd with gold.

The
amphi-
theatre

All the sides round about that great void, replenished and invironed from the ground unto the very top, with three or fourescore rankes of steps and seates, likewise all of marble covered with faire cushions,

—*creat, inquit,*

*Si pudor est, et de pulvino surgat equestri,
Cujus res legi non sufficit.*—JUVEN. Sat. iii. 153.

If shame there be, let him be gone, he cries,
And from his knightly cushion let him rise,
Whose substance to the law doth not suffice.

Where might conveniently be placed an hundred thousand men, and all sit at ease. And the plaine-ground-worke of it, where sports were to be acted, first by Art to cause the same to open and chap in sunder with gaps and cranishes, representing hollow cavernes which vomited out the beasts appointed for the spectacle: that ended, immediately to overflow it all with a maine deepe sea, fraught with store of sea-monsters and other strange fishes, all over-laid with goodly tall ships, ready rigd and appointed to represent a Sea-fight; and thirdly, suddenly to make it smooth and drie againe, for the combat of Gladiators: and fourthly, being forthwith cleansed, to strew it over with Vermillion and Storax, insteede of gravell, for the erecting of a solemne banket, for all that infinite number of people: the last act of one onely day.

The
springs
in the
arena

—*quoties nos descenditis arena
Pitimus in partes, ruptaque voragine terra
Emersisse ferus, et visdem sæpe labebis
Aurea cum croceo creverunt arbuda libro.
Nec solum nobis sibiæstria cernere monstra
Contigit, equoreas ego cum certantibus urris
Spectavi vitulos, et equorum nomine dignum,
Sed deformæ pecus.*

How oft have we beheld wild beasts appear
From broken gulches of earth, upon some parte
Of sande that did not sinke? how often there
And thence did golden boughs ore saffron'd starte?
Nor onely saw we monsters of the wood,
But I have seene Sea-calves whom Beares withstood,
And such a kinde of beast as might be named
A horse, but in most foule proportion framed.

They have sometimes caused an high steepy
mountaine to arise in the midst of the sayd
Amphitheaters, all over-spredd with fruitfull and
flourishing trees of all sortes, on the top whereof
gushed out streames of water, as from out the
source of a purling spring. Other times they
have produced therein a great tall Ship floating
up and downe, which of it selfe opened and
split a sunder, and after it had disgorged from
out it's bulke, foure or five hundred wild beasts
to bee baited, it closed and vanished away of
it selfe, without any visible helpe. Sometimes
from out the bottome of it, they caused streakes
and purlings of sweete water to spoute up,
bubbling to the highest top of the frame, and
gently watring, sprinkling and refreshing that
infinite multitude. To keepe and cover them-
selves from the violence of the wether, they
caused that huge compasse to be all over-

spread, sometimes with purple sailes, all curiously Fertilly
wrought with the needle, sometimes of silke, of past
and of some other colour, in the twinkling of
an eye, as they pleased, they displaid and spread,
or drewe and pulled them in againe.

*Quamvis non molice caleant spectacula solo
Vela reluctantur cum venit Hermogener.*

—MART. xii. *Epig.* 29, 15.

Though fervent Sunne make't hotte to see a play,
When linnen thieves come, sailes are kept away.

The nets likewise, which they used to put before
the people, to save them from harme and violence
of the baited beasts, were woven with golde.

—*auraque torta refugant*

Retia.

Nets with gold enterlaced,
Their shewes with glittering graced.

If any thing bee excusable in such lavish
excesse, it is, where the invention and strange-
nesse breedeth admiration, and not the costlie
charge. Even in those vanities, wee may plainly
perceive how fertile and happy those former
ages were of other manner of wittes, then ours
are. It hapneth of this kinde of fertilitie as of
all other productions of nature. Wee may not
say what nature employed then the utmost of
hir power. We goe not, but rather creepe and
stagger here and there: we goe our pace. I
imagine our knowledge to bee weake in all
senses: *wee neither discernne far-forward, nor see
much backward.* It embraceth little, and liveth
not long: It is short both in extension of time,
and in amplenesse of matter or invention.

The
known
compared
with

*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, sed omnes illeachrymabiles
Urgetur, ignotique longa
Nocte.*—HOR. *Car. iv. Od. ix. 25.*

Before great Agamemnon and the rest,
Many liv'd valiant, yet are all suppress'd,
Unmou'd, unknowne, in darke oblivious nest.

*Et superba bellum Trojanum et funera Trojae,
Multi alias alii quoque res cecinere poeta.*

—LUCR. v. 326.

Beside the Trojan warre, Troyes funeral night,
Of other things did other Poets write.

And Solons narration concerning what he had learned of the Egyptian Priests, of their states long-life, and manner how to learne and preserve strange or forraine histories, in mine opinion is not a testimony to bee refused in this consideration. *Si interminatam in omnes partes magnitudinem regionum videremus, et temporum, in quam se injiciens animus et intendens, ita late longaeque peregrinatur, ut nullam oram ultimi videat, in qua possit insistere: In hac immensitate infinita, vis innumerabilium appareret formarum (CIC. *Nat. Deo. i.*). If we behold an unlimited greatness on all sides both of regions and times, whereupon the mind casting it selfe and tentative doth travell farre and neare, so as it sees no bounds of what is last, whereon it may insist; in this infinite immensity there would appeare a multitude of innumerable formes. If whatsoever hath come unto us by report of what is past were true, and knowne of any body, it would be lesse then*

nothing, in respect of that which is unknowne. the unknowne
And even of this image of the world, which known
whilst we live therein, glideth and passeth away, how wretched, weake and how short is the knowledge of the most curious? Not onely of the particular events, which fortune often maketh exemplar and of consequence: but of the state of mighty common-wealths, large Monarkies and renowned nations, there escapeth our knowledge a hundred times more, then commeth unto our notice. We Keepe a coile, and wonder at the miraculous invention of our artillerie, and amazed at the rare devise of Printing: when as unknowne to us, other men, and an other end of the world named *China*, knew and had perfect use of both, a thousand yeares before. *If we sawe as much of this waste world, as we see but a least part of it, it is very likely we should perceive a perpetuall multiplicity, and ever-rolling vicissitude of formes. Therein is nothing singular, and nothing rare, if regard bee had unto nature, or to say better, if relation bee had unto our knowledge: which is a weake foundation of our rules, and which doth commonly present us a right-false Image of things. How vainely do we now-adayes conclude the declination and decrepitude of the world, by the fond arguments wee drawe from our owne weaknessse, drooping and declination:*

Jamque adeo affecta est aetas, affectaque tellus:
—LUCR. ii. 1159.

And now both age and land
So sicke affected stand.

The new world found and youth, by the vigour he perceiveth in the wits of his time, abounding in novelties and invention of divers Arts:

*Vain ut opinor, habet novitatem, summa, reusque
Natura est mundi, neque pridem exordia cepit:
Quare etiam quaedam nunc artes explorantur,
Nunc etiam augescunt, nunc addita navigis sunt
Mula. —Ibid. v. 330.*

But all this world is new, as I suppose,
Worlds nature fresh, nor lately it arose:
Whereby some arts refined are in fashion,
And many things now to our navigation
Are added, daily growne to augmentation.

Our world hath of late discovered another (and who can warrant us whether it be the last of his brethren, since both the *Damons*, the *Sibylles*, and all we have hitherto been ignorant of this?) no lesse-large, fully-peopled, all-things-yeelding, and mighty in strength, than ours: neverthelesse so new and infantine, that he is yet to learne his A.B.C. It is not yet full fifty yeeres that he knew neither letters, nor waight, nor measures, nor apparell, nor corne, nor vines. But was all naked, simply-pure, in Natures lappe, and lived but with such means and food as his mother-nurse afforded him. If wee conclude aright of our end, and the foresaid Poet of the infancie of his age, this late-world shall but come to light, when ours shall fall into darkness. The whole Universe shall fall into a palsey or convulsion of sinnowes: one member

shall be maimed or shrunken, another nimble and in good plight. I feare, that by our contagion, we shall directly have furthered his declination, and hastened his ruine; and that we shall too dearely have sold him our opinions, our new-fangles and our Arts. It was an unpolluted, harmelesse infant world; yet have we not whipped and submitted the same unto our discipline, or schooled him by the advantage of our valour or naturall forces, nor have wee instructed him by our justice and integrity; nor subdued by our magnanimity. Most of their answers, and a number of the negotiations we have had with them, witnessse that they were nothing short of us, nor beholding to us for any excellency of naturall wit or perspicuitie, concerning pertinency. The wonderful, or as I may call it, amazement-breeding magnificence of the never-like scene Cities of *Cusco* and *Mexico*, and amongst infinite such like things, the admirable Garden of that King, where all the Trees, the fruits, the Hearbes and Plants, according to the order and greatnesse they have in a Garden, were most artificially framed in gold: as also in his Cabinet, all the living creatures that his Countrey or his Seas produced, were cast in gold; and the exquisite beauty of their workes, in precious Stones, in Feathers, in Cotton and in Painting: shew that they yeelded as little unto us in cunning and industrie. But concerning unfained devotion, awefull observance of lawes, unspotted integrity, bounteous liberality, due loyalty and free liberty,

The it hath greatly availed us, that we had not shock of so much as they: By which advantage, they East and have lost, cast-away, sold, undone and betrayed West themselves.

Touching hardnesse and undaunted courage, and as for *macchese* conscience, unmoored assurednesse, undismayed resolution against paine, smearing, famine and death it selfe; I will not feare to oppose the examples which I may easily finde amongst them, to the most famous ancient examples, we may with all our industrie discover in all the *Annales* and memories of our knowne old World. For, as for those which have subdued them, let them lay aside the wiles, the policies and stratagemes, which they have employed to cozen, to cunning-catch, and to circumvent them; and the just astonishment which those nations might justly conceive, by seeing so unexpected an arrivall of bearded men; divers in language, in habite, in religion, in behaviour, in forme, in countenance; and from a part of the world so distant, and where they never heard any habitation was: mounted upon great and unknowne monsters; against those, who had never so much as scene any horse, and lesse any beast whatsoever apt to beare, or taught to carry either man or burden; covered with a shining and hard skinn, and armed with slicing-keene weapons and glittering armour: against them, who for the wonder of the glistening of a looking-glasse or of a plaine knife, would have changed or given inestimable riches in Gold, Precious Stones and Pearles; and who had

neither the skill nor the matter wherewith at any leisure, they could have pierced our steele: to which you may adde the flashing-fire and thundering roare of shotte and Harguebuses; able to quell and daunt even *Cesar* himselfe, had he bene so sodainely surprised and as little experienced as they were: and thus to come unto, and assault silly-naked people, saving where the invention of weaving of Cotton cloath was knowne and used: for the most altogether unarmed, except some bowes, stones, staves and woodden bucklers: unsuspecting poore people, surprised under colour of amity and well-meaning faith over-taken by the curiosity to see strange and unknowne things: I say, take this disparity from the conquerors, and you deprive them of all the occasions and cause of so many unexpected victories. When I consider that stern-untamed obstinacy, and undanted vehemence, wherewith so many thousands of men, of women and children, do so infinite times present themselves unto inevitable dangers, for the defence of their Gods and liberty: This generous obstinacy to endure all extremities, all difficulties and death, more easily and willingly, then basely to yeelde unto their domination, of whom they have so abominably bene abused: some of them choosing rather to starve with hunger and fasting, being taken, then to accept food at their enemies hands, so basely victorious: I perceive, that whosoever had undertaken them man to man, without ods of armes, of experience or of number, should have had as

Deceit used by the conquerors

Why was dangerous a waire, or perhaps more, as any we not America amongst us.

Why did not so glorious a conquest happen under *Alexander*, or during the time of the ancient Greekes and Romanes? or why befell not so great a change and alteration of Empires and people, under such hands as would gently have polished, reformed and incivilized, what in them they deemed to be barbarous and rude: or would have nourished and fostered those good seedes, which nature had there brought forth: adding not onely to the manuring of their grounds and ornaments of their cities, such artes as we had; and that no further then had beene necessary for them, but therewithall joyning unto the originall vertues of the country, those of the ancient Grecians and Romanes? What [reparation] and what reformation would all that faire spreading world have found, if the examples, demanors and policies, wherewith we first presented them, had called and allured those uncorrupted nations, to the admiration and imitation of vertue, and had established betweene them and us a brotherly society and mutuall correspondency? How easie a matter had it beene, profitably to reforme, and christianly to instruct, minds yet so pure and new, so willing to be taught, being for the most part endowed with so docile, so apt and so yeelding naturall beginnings? whereas contrariwise, we have made use of their ignorance and inexperience, [to] drawe them more easily unto treason, fraude, luxurie, avarice and all manner of in-

humanity and cruelty, by the example of our The life and patterne of our customes. Who ever Spanish raised the service of marchandize and benefit of traffick to so high a rate? So many goodly cities ransacked and razed; so many nations destroyed and made desolate; so infinite millions of harmelesse people of all sexes, states and ages, massacred, ravaged and put to the sword; and the richest, the fairest and the best part of the world topsitruvied, ruined and defaced for the traffick of Pearles and Pepper: Oh mechanicall victories, oh base conquest. Never did greedy revenge, publick wrongs or generall enmities, so moodily enrage, and so passionately incense men against men, unto so horrible hostilities, bloody dissipation, and miserable calamities.

Certaine Spaniardes coasting alongst the Sea in search of mines, fortunated to land in a very fertile, pleassant and well peopled country: unto the inhabitants whereof they declared their intent, and shewed their accustomed perswasions; saying: That they were quiet and well-meaning men, comming from farre-countries, being sent from the King of *Castile*, the greatest King of the habitable earth, unto whom the Pope, representing God on earth, had given the principality of all the *Indies*. That if they would become tributaries to him, they should be most kindly used and courteously entreated: They required of them victualles for their nourishment; and some gold for the behoofe of certaine Physicall experiments. Moreover, they declared unto them, the believing in one

The onely God, and the trueth of our religion, natives' which they perswaded them to embrace, adding thereto some minatorie threats. Whose answer was this: That happily they might be quiet and well meaning, but their countenance shewed them to be otherwise: As concerning their Kings, since he seemed to beg, he shewed to be poore and needy: And for the Pope, who had made that distribution, he expressed himselfe a man loving dis-sention, in going about to give unto a third man, a thing which was not his owne: so to make it questionable and litigious amongst the ancient possessors of it. As for vicinall, they should have part of their store: And for gold, they had but little, and that it was a thing they made very small account of, as merely unprofitable for the service of their life, whereas all their care was but how to passe it happily and pleasantly: and therefore, what quantity soever they should finde, that onely excepted which was employed about the service of their Gods, they might boldly take it. As touching one onely God, the discourse of him had very well pleased them: but they would by no means change their religion, under which they had for so long time lived so happily: and that they were not accustomed to take any counsel, but of their friends and acquaintance. As concerning their menaces, it was a signe of want of judgement, to threaten those, whose nature, condition, power and means was to them unknowne. And therefore they should with all speed hasten to avoid their dominions (for so much as they were not wont to admit or take in good part the kindnesses and remonstrances of

armed people, namely of strangers) otherwise they Fate of would deale with them as they had done with the King such others, shewing them the heads of certaine men sticking upon stakes about their Cities, which had lately bene executed. Loe here an example of the stammering of this infancy.

But so it is, neither in this, nor in infinite other places, where the Spaniards found not the marchandise they sought for, neither made stay or attempted any violence, whatsoever other commodity the place yielded: witnessse my Canibales. Of two the most mighty and glorious Monarkes of that world, and peradventure of all our Westerne parts, Kings over so many Kings: the last they deposed and overcame: He of Peru, having by them been taken in a battell, and set at so excessive a ransom, that it exceedeth all beliefe, and that truly paide: and by his conversation having given them apparent signes of a free, liberrall, undanted and constant courage, and declared to be of a pure, noble, and well composed understanding; a humour possessed the conquerors, after they had most insolently exacted from him a Million, three hundred five and twenty thousand, and five hundred waights of golde; besides the silver and other precious things, which amounted to no lesse a summe (so that their horses were all shoold of massive gold) to discover (what disloyalty or treachery soever it might cost them) what the remainder of this Kings treasure might be, and without contrivment enjoy what ever he might have hidden or concealed from them.

Fate of Which to compass, they forged a false accusation and proof against him; That hee practised of Mexico to raise his provinces, and intended to induce his subjects to some insurrection, so to procure his liberty.

Whereupon, by the very judgement of those who had completed this forgery and treason against him, hee was condemned to be publicly hanged and strangled: having first made him to redeeme the torment of being burned alive, by the baptisme which at the instant of his execution, in charity they bestowed upon him. A horrible and the like never heard of accident: which nevertheless he undismayedly endured with an unmoved manner, and truly-royall gravity, without ever contradicting himselfe either in countenance or speech. And then, somewhat to mitigate and circumvent those silly unsuspecting people, amazed and astonished at so strange a spectacle, they counterfeited a great mourning and lamentation for his death, and appointed his funeralls to bee solemnely and sumptuously celebrated.

The other King of *Mexico*, having a long time manfully defended his besieged City, and in the tedious siege, shewed what ever pinching-sufferance, and resolute-perseverance can effect, if ever any courageous Prince or warre-like people shewed the same; and his disastrous successe having delivered him alive into his enemies hands, upon conditions to bee used as be seemed a King: who during the time of his imprisonment, did never make the least shew of any thing un-

worthy that glorious title. After which victory, the Spaniards not finding that quantitie of gold they had promised themselves, when they had ransacked and ranged all corners, they by meanes of the cruellest tortures and horriblest torments they could possibly devise, beganne to wrest and draw some more from such prisoners as they had in keeping. But unable to profit any thing that way, finding stronger hearts than their torments, they in the end fell to such moody outrages, that contrary to all law of nations, and against their soleme vowes and promises, they condemned the King himselfe and one of the chiefest Princes of his Court, to the Racke, one in presence of another: The Prince environed round with hot burning coales, being overcome with the exceeding torment, at last in most pitious sort turning his dreary eyes toward his Master, as if hee asked mercy of him for that hee could endure no longer; The king fixing rigorously and fiercely his lookes upon him, seeming to upbraide him with his remissnesse and puslanimity, with a sterne and settled voyce uttered these few words unto him; *What? supposest thou I am in a cold bath? am I at more ease than thou art?* Whereat the silly wretch immediately fainted under the torture, and yielded up the ghost. The king half roasted, was carried away: Not so much for pity (for what ruth could ever enter so barbarous mindes, who upon the surmised information of some odde piece or vessell of golde, they intended to get, would broyle a man before their eyes, and not a man

A false onely, but a king, so great in fortune and so zeal renowned in desert-?) but for as much as his toward unmatched constancy did more and more make religion their inhumane cruelty ashamed: They afterward hanged him, because he had courageously attempted by armes to deliver himselfe out of so long captivity and miserable subjection; where he ended his wretched life, worthy an high minded and never danted Prince. At another time, in one same fire, they caused to be burned all alive foure hundred common men, and threescore principall Lords of a Province, whom by the fortune of warre they had taken prisoners. These narrations we have out of their owne bookes: for they doe not onely avouch, but vauntingly publish them. *May it bee, they doe it for a testimony of their justice or zeale toward their religion?* verily they are wayes over-different and enemies to so sacred an ende. Had they proposed unto themselves to enlarge and propagate our religion, they would have considered, that it is not amplified by possession of lands, but of men: and would have bene satisfied with such slaughters, as the necessity of warre bringeth, without indifferently adding thereunto so bloody a butchery, as upon savage beasts; and so universall as fire or sword could ever attaine unto; having purposely preserved no more than so many miserable bond-slaves, as they deemed might suffice for the digging, working and service of their mines: So that divers of their chieftains have bene executed to death, even in the places they had conquered, by the

appointment of the Kings of *Carile*, justly of- Loss of fended at the self-seene horror of their barbarous ill-gotten demeanours, and well nigh all disesteemed, condemned and hated. God hath meritoriously permitted, that many of their great pillages, and ill gotten goods, have either bene swallowed up by the revenging Seas in transporting them, or consumed by the intestine warres and civill broiles, wherewith themselves have devoured one another; and the greatest part of them have been overwhelmed and buried in the bowels of the earth, in the very places they found them, without any fruit of their victory. Touching the objection which some make, that the receipt, namely in the hands of so thrifty, wary and wise a Prince, doth so little answer the fore-conceived hope, which was given unto his predecessors, and the said former abundance of riches, they met withall at the first discovery of this new-found world, (for although they bring home great quantity of gold and silver, we perceive the same to be nothing, in respect of what might be expected thence) it may be answered, that the use of money was there altogether unknowne; and consequently that all their gold was gathered together, serving to no other purpose, than for shew, state and ornament, as a moovable reserved from father to sonne by many puissant Kings, who exhausted all their mines, to collect so huge a heape of vessels or statues for the ornament of their Temples, and embellishing of their Pallaces: whereas all our gold is employed in commerce and trafficke betweene

Beliefs man and man. Wee mince and alter it into a of the thousand formes: wee spend, wee scatter and disperse the same to severall uses. Suppose our Kings should thus gather and heape up all the gold they might for many ages hoard up together, and keepe it close and untouched. Those of the kingdom of *Mexico* were somewhat more encivilized, and better artists, than other nations of that world. And as wee doe, so judged they, that this Universe was neare his end: and tooke the desolation wee brought amongst them as an infallible signe of it. They beleved the state of the world, to bee divided into five ages, as in the life of five succeeding Sunnes, whereof foure had already ended their course or time; and the same which now shined upon them, was the fifth and last. The first perished together with all other creatures, by an universall inundation of waters. The second by the fall of the heavens upon us which stifled and overwhelmed every living thing: in which age they affirme the Giants to have bene, and shewed the Spaniards certaine bones of them, according to whose proportion the stature of men came to bee of the height of twenty handfuls. The third was consumed by a violent fire, which burned and destroyed all. The fourth by a whirling emotion of the ayre and windes, which with the violent fury of it selfe, removed and overthrew divers high mountaines: saying, that men dyed not of it, but were transformed into Munkies. (*Ob what impressions doth not the weaknesse of mans beliefs admit?*) After the

consummation of this fourth Sunne, the world continued five and twenty yeares in perpetuall darknesse: in the fifteenth of which one man and one woman were created, who renewed the race of man-kinde. Ten yeares after, upon a certaine day, the Sunne appeared as newly created: from which day beginneth ever since the calculation of their yeares. On the third day of whose creation, died their ancient Gods, their new ones have day by day bene borne since. In what manner this last Sunne shall perish, my aucthor could not learne of them. But their number of this fourth change, doth jumpe and meete with that great conjunction of the Starres, which eight hundred and odde yeares since, according to the Astrologians supposition, produced divers great alterations and strange novelties in the world. Concerning the proud pompe and glorious magnificence, by occasion of which I am fallen into this discourse, nor *Greece*, nor *Rome*, nor *Aegipt*, can (bee it in profit, or difficultie or nobility) equall or compare sundie and divers of their workes. The cawcy or high-way which is yet to bee seene in *Peru*, erected by the Kings of that countrie, stretching from the city of *Quito*, unto that of *Cusco* (containing three hundred leagues in length) straight, even, and fine, and twentie paces in breadth curiously paved, rayed on both sides with goodly, high masonrie-walles, all along which, on the inner side there are two continuall running streames, pleasantly beset with beaütious trees, which they call *Moly*. In

The
Peruvian
high-way

Return-framing of which, where they mette any moun-
bons à taines or rockes, they have cut, rased and levelled
nos them, and filled all hollow places with lime and
coches stone. At the ende of every dayes journey, as
stations, there are built stately great pallaces,
plentifully stored with all manner of good
victuals, apparel and armes, as well for day-
lie way-fairing men, as for such armies that
might happen to passe that way. In the esti-
mation of which worke I have especially con-
sidered the difficulty, which in that place is
particularly to bee remembred. For they built
with no stones that were lesse then ten foote
square: They had no other meanes to cary or
transport them, then by meere strength of armes
to draw and dragge the carriage they needed:
they had not so much as the arte to make
scaffolds; nor knew other devise, then to raise
so much earth or rubbish, against their building,
according as the worke riseth, and afterward to
take it away againe. But returne we to our
coaches. In steade of them, and of all other
carrying beastes they caused themselves to be
carried by men, and upon their shoulders. This
last King of *Peru*, the same day hee was taken,
was thus carried upon rafter or beames of mas-
sive Golde, sitting in a faire chaire of state,
likewise all of golde, in the middle of his
bataille. Looke how many of his porters as
were slaine, to make him fall (for all their
endeavour was to take him alive) so many
others, and as it were aye, tooke and under-
went presently the place of the dead: so that

they could never be brought down or made to
falle, what slaughter so ever was made of those
kinde of people, untill such time as a horseman
furiously ranne to take him by some part of his
body, and so pulled him to the ground.

Defects
found
in all
things'

CHAP. VII

Of the incommodie of greatnesse

SINCE we cannot attaine unto it, let us re-
venge our selves with railing against it:
yet is it not absolute railing, to finde fault with
any thing: *There are defects found in all things,
how faire soever in show, and desirable they be.*
It hath generally this evident advantage, that
when ever it pleaseth it will decline, and hath
well-nigh the choise of one and other condi-
tion. For a man doth not fall from all heights;
divers there are, whence a man may descend
without falling. Verily, me seemeth, that we
value it at too high a rate: and prize over-
deare the resolution of those, whom we have
either scene or heard, to have contemned, or
of their owne motion rejected the same. Her
essence is not so evidently commodious, but a
man may refuse it without wonder. Indeed I
finde the labour very hard in suffering of evils;
but in the contentment of a meane measure of
fortune, and shunning of greatnesse, therein I
see no great difficulty. In my conceit, it is a
vertue, whereunto my selfe, who am but a simple